I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

PREFACE

When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

Dr. Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking this field study. Mr. Harold J. Coolidge, Executive Director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, under whose auspices and supervision the Scientific Investigation of the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI) Program was conducted, created an atmosphere in which it was possible to pursue one's work freely and independently. I am grateful to him and to his staff.

Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts.

Mr. H. E. Diffenderfer, head of the Civil Information and Education Department, which sponsored this study, gave his full cooperation both in encouragement and in administrative and clerical assistance. I have profitted from discussions with Doctor, then 1st Lieutenant, William Elmendorf and Dr. Allan Smith, both anthropologists, and formerly on the C I & E staff.

I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taminato Choyū of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taminato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

My indebtedness to the people of the villages is even greater, and here I must confine myself to a few who either through their own knowledge or through the introductions they gave to others made it possible for me to gradually build up the body of information upon which this report is based.

In Hanashiro: Nakasato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakamoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakasato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaye Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Hinatogawa: Moromisato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Hinatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar • and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

• The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājpūt caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship.

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias, the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material.

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

423 [621] [474] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages [426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] [122] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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122 This report is based on nine months of field research which was conducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

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101 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954. One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Ooeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.